645 even worked out a plan to recruit 8,000 teachers in Western
871 Ukraine to undertake Ukrainian work in the Donbas where the
186 Russian influence was strongest.
665 At the same time Skrypnyk was a determined Communist and he lost no opportunity for advancing the doctrines of the movement, even at the risk of doing violence to those Ukrainian ideals in which he believed. Thus, in 1928, he demanded a reformation of
● [815] the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences which had been working feverishly in the same cause of Ukrainization but which, from his point of view, was insufficiently Marxist and Communist. In 1929 he won his point and the Academy was forced to elect to membership seven Communists who were chosen for their knowledge of the subject and not for their scientific ability. One of the seven was Skrypnyk himself, and among the others were O. Shlikhter and Zatonsky, the veteran from the earlier Ukrainian Communist movement. He soon promoted Shlikhter to a prominent position and refused to confirm the election of the non-Communist scholar, Krymsky, to the post of secretary. At the same time he forced the election of several Western Ukrainian members, so that for a few years the Academy did become a real centre to represent all Ukrainian scholarship.

Thus, in this complex process Skrypnyk played at times a curious and often contradictory role. He was at once the head of the Ukrainian movement and of the Communist movement in the country and he never realized or noticed the contradictory character of his actions, like Tito in the early years of his dealing with Moscow. Still, during his term of office the Ukrainian movement reached its height and seemed to be flourishing.

The Scholarly Revival

The development during these years[1] was not only in the humanities but it extended to all fields of science, especially those that had to do with the study of the Ukrainian resources and agriculture. Young geologists, biologists, etc. found convenient opportunities for the use of their talents, and their studies revealed new and often unsuspected potentialities in the country. 815

All this work, which was under the Commissariat of Education, was treated kindly by the former Borotbisty and Ukapisty who were in control of the Commissariat. At times they grumbled that more was not being done in the field and under the principles of Marxo-Leninism, but they did not use their power to suppress or hinder the work. In a sense they looked at it with a certain lack of comprehension and criticism. It is not too much to say that this intellectual and scholarly activity proceeded outside the range of Communist interests and was allowed far more free scope than was possible in the case of the writers or the administration. 815 626

The only answer which the more rigid Communists found was the establishment of a large chain of Marxo-Leninist Institutes which were ostensibly devoted to the study of the philosophy of Communism and to the working out of Communist sciences on the same pattern as those in Moscow. These reflected the actual state of Communist thinking and were really schools for propaganda and not for scientific study in any sense of the word. They were liberally supported and they were frequently able to secure their pick of the more talented and ambitious scholars who were willing to rise through the established channels of Communism, rather than by the more exacting service of true knowledge.

It was not until 1927 that Skrypnyk, with all of his Ukrainian patriotism, hearkened to the Communist protests that there were no Communists in the Academy of Sciences and he insisted that a certain number of prominent Communists should be admitted. It was, of course, done but not without grumbling, for the members of the Academy had been very careful as to the type of man whom they elected and as to his scholarly abilities and reputation. They felt, deservedly, that the addition of these new members would lower the standards of the Academy but there was no way out.

[1] [after establishment of Ukrainian Soviet Republic--Analyst]

● 815 626 This was to be the signal for the ending of the old system of relatively free thought. It was the first step in the approaching changes that were to wreak havoc on every form of Ukrainian life and bring to an untimely end the rapidly developing Ukrainian Renaissance.

871 every teacher in the schools in Ukraine had orders to spread Com-
656 munist propaganda, to fight the appearance of national discontent with the Russian rule by every means, and was obliged to insult the
[814] struggle of the Ukrainian people for liberation. In schools, Ukrainian history was falsely interpreted as well as in literature and in films. For instance, clinging to the tradition taken from Tsarist Russia, the Hetman of Ukraine Ivan Mazeppa who at the beginning of the 18th century wanted to free Ukraine from Muscovite dependence, has in Soviet historiography the epithet of a 'traitor' and 'reactionary'. But Tsar Peter I. and Tsar Ivan the Terrible, are glorified by Soviet school and science as 'progressive democratic rulers'.

659 The Ukrainian religious life under the régime of Soviet Russian
661 occupation had to suffer from special persecutions. In 1921, in Soviet Ukraine the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Autocephal Church, independent of the Moscow Patriarch, was organised. This Church, headed by its idealistic leaders, the Metropolitan Vasyl Lypkivsky, Volodymyr Chekhivsky, former Premier of the Government of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic in 1918—19 and others, completed a great task for the cultural and moral improvement of the Ukrainian nation. Moscow attempted to destroy the strong organisation of the Ukrainian Autocephal Church with the help of its agents, but did not succeed in this. Then the Soviet Government ruined by bloody repressions the Ukrainian Church after having destroyed its entire hierarchy and masses of its followers (1929).

661 In connection with the 'General Line' which had placed unbear-
517 able burdens on Ukrainian economy, a mass discontent against Moscow increased among the Ukrainians. The ruthless economic
● 815 exploitation and political oppression by Russia caused, among the Ukrainian people, a permanent oppositon which appeared in various forms. Therefore, the Moscow Government decided to terrorise the Ukrainian intelligentsia which bore the brunt of the political efforts of the Ukrainian nation. For this purpose a number of trials against the most prominent representatives of Ukrainian science and social life were arranged; the case of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine with the participation of the prominent member of the Ukrainian Academy of Science, Serhy Yefremov, Volodymyr Chekhivsky, former Premier, Professor Osyp Hermayze and others in Kharkov, in spring 1930. Thousands of innocent people, especially students, perished in the prisoners' cells of the GPU without any trial. Simultaneously, the Ukrainian Academy of Science was exposed to repressions. In place of the imprisoned or expelled members of the Ukrainian Academy of Science, the Communists
appointed Their own people Though without scientific merits,
46 but politically faithful To Moscow.

— soldiers of the Ukrainian Army, politicians, state officials etc. had to go into exile. The neighbour states which had divided the Ukrainian territory among themselves had one common interest: to prevent the growth of a Ukrainian movement. However, Czechoslovakia met the cultural needs of the Ukrainian emigrants. On the recommendation of President T. G. Masaryk the Czechoslovakian Government from 1921 procured funds for the creation of Ukrainian Academic Schools in CSR — University, Ukrainian Economic School, Pedagogic University etc. In Prague prominent Ukrainian scholars were living, and here the political life of the Ukrainian emigration developed.

In Berlin the Ukrainian Scientific Institute at the Berlin University was created in 1927. A Ukrainian Scientific Institute was founded in Warsaw in 1929. These institutes developed a considerable activity.

The Ukrainian emigrants, officers and soldiers of the Ukrainian Army who had left Ukraine with their Government in 1920, remained faithful to the traditions of the independent Ukrainian Democratic Republic. The Ukrainians in exile were that part of the Ukrainian nation who could speak freely to the world in the name of their enslaved brethren.

The Ukrainians in America are mostly from the Western territories of Ukraine — Galicia, Bukovina, Carpatho-Ukraine. They are grouped around insurance associations. The oldest Ukrainian organisation in USA is the Ukrainian National Association in New York, founded in 1894. This Association publishes the daily *Svoboda*. The Ukrainian Workingmen's Association in Scranton, Pa., founded in 1910, publishes the weekly *People's Will*. There are also smaller organisations of a similar nature. Between the two World Wars the Ukrainians in Poland had considerable financial support for their cultural institutions, especially for the schools, from American and Canadian Ukrainians.

The Ukrainians in USA are mostly workers; in Canada, farmers. The number of the Ukrainians in the United States is about 1 million, in Canada about 300,000. The Ukrainians in Canada have their co-operative associations, educational institutions and private schools. The centres of the Ukrainian emigration are Winnipeg, Toronto, Edmonton, Montreal and Hamilton. The strongest political organisation of the Canadian Ukrainians is the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada, publishing *Ukrainian Voice* in Winnipeg. Among the Ukrainians in USA and Canada the Communist Party is conducting its destructive activities, possessing the means even for the publishing of big daily papers in Ukrainian

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3. *The New Ukrainian Political Emigration*

In consequence of the occupation of all Ukrainian territories by the armies of Soviet Russia, hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians had to remain outside the borders of their fatherland. In the first years after the termination of the war, the Ukrainian emigrants lived in Displaced Persons' Camps in Germany and Austria. Now the Ukrainians can be seen in all European and American countries, in Australia and New Zealand. These are all people who, for national and political reasons, opposed repatriation into a Ukraine oppressed by the Communist Government. They declared repeatedly, when they were threatened with forced repatriation, that they would sooner commit suicide than fall into the hands of their oppressors.

The Ukrainian emigrants in Europe and America are developing a considerable political and cultural activity. The central institutions of the Ukrainian political parties are remaining in exile where their press is being published, the elementary, secondary and academic schools are being operated — the Ukrainian University in Munich, the Ukrainian Technical University in Germany, until 1945 in Bohemia, and others.

After World War II the Ukrainian émigrés have created more scientific institutions: The Scientific Shevchenko Society, a continuation of the identical Society which had existed in Lviw since 1874, and had been destroyed by the Communist régime, and the Ukrainian Free Academy of Science. These Ukrainian Scientific Societies are working effectively and have their branches in Europe and in America.

Under these circumstances, when in Ukraine enslaved by Soviet Russia, the Ukrainian political life is suppressed and cannot show itself freely, the Ukrainian emigrants think it their duty to speak in the name of their nation in the defence of its rights before civilised mankind. For this purpose the leaders of the Ukrainian parties created the Ukrainian National Council in July 1948, as the political representation of the Ukrainian nation. The Ukrainian National Council continues the tradition of the independent Ukrainian Democratic Republic which had been created through the will of the Ukrainian nation in 1918—1919. Many of the participants of the Ukrainian fight for liberation and many of the leaders of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic are still living. These men believe firmly that the time for the free state existence of the Ukrainian nation will come.